and from December of the same year until May, 1940.

A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the influence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial. Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

177 From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

164 The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced largely by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced [114] prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [165] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [731] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [178] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

177 The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people [821] knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost [731] nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [726] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

●177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

Chapter 4

[100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the 171 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuí, that is, jacuí [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

536 726 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned [535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which 181 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

609 773 The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these neighbors seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

1 [i.e., the Kayapó.--Analyst]

(cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord formerly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics. The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is interesting because it would have been possible to carry the children in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children. Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause, 2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however, that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neighbors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276 and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had received as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the evening, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho garment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamananá, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [852] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 302 765 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 [177] [412] Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107 is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267) 302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two 171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous 515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They [314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of [881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends, [764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 593 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 261 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

1:Baldus--92 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairabó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
• 177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

177 514 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate" [192] is ankurũg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

000 A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

514 As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is 356 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one 364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja, 000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the 961 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

231 Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which 364 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the Ampaneá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catching or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with religion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason, also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned [177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé, 174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone 412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that 174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects 412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow") 439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and [177] by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out 241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the 476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

262 824 [177] like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent in taste than the white carás with which we are familiar; (3) this same white carás, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kaná, "carás"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white carás" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various carás; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the carás plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

171 824 192 Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá and wrote its name as jettiki. The Tupi term was entered in the vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

262 Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vegetable food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has already been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

[192] [171]

262 824 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centimeters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
•[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

252 These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
262 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
• 177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[3] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[3] Probably through the Caraja.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer, all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawiáho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest some three or four kilometers from it. The village had been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the most striking changes has to do with the relations of the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquired from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
[501] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pančе*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
[771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
[797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. I, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953).1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

177 the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms
262 of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

177 Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé col-
[454] lected money which they kept as they formerly kept
[436] red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but
[411] they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men
[291] wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

177 Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable
178 in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756
301
786
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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291
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786
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Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumú era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [774] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iungá*, the soul, may free itself [528] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [562] generally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [799] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

264 574 476 [262] 431 574 [622] [177] 264 476 574 [554] 123 [597] 264 574 535 [776] 132 574 796 224 264 476 574 [462]

[92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãuuanõ̃ĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ" to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they pleased. Kamairahṍ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitãnya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anẽ́ Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihṍ and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũa of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. • 177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern 182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or hunt had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

476 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 461 apatxirã of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [226] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

/173 cont./

1775 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyaba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioá /Shambióa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

[113]

> 4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Arahs. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Arahs./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20 years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

> 5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hundred Tapirapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

> 6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitúa at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carâ [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all
Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of
the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some
of them are completely clothed.

177 It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
262 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
[161] neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in
the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139]
were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish,
they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle
eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiers-
men, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein
and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the
human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse
in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along
the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to
deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has
been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to
prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White
settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant
at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in
Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the
navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly
all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived
previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands,
began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the
processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the
colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which are a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, N.S. 19, 21 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topïi*. *Topïi* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small headdress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topïi* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *topïi*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topïi's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topïi*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *topïi*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topïi* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topïi*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kauwaua (direct translation) is said to be called Purunka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often reflected in interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*topïi* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements slowly combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

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The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign disease (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign disease acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilians culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

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Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

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(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948) p. 96 ff. See also Fernandes (1948).

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10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [62] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [62] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [31] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.. ●177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[179] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 115 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

115 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[797] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found* it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diét, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the